

A
Cautionary Address
TO THE
ELECTORS of ENGLAND:
BEING A
TOUCHSTONE
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BETWEEN THE
Constituents and Candidates.

With a WORD touching
JOHN WILKES, Esq;

L O N D O N:
Printed for J. WILLIAMS, next the
Mitre-Tavern, Fleet-Street. 1768.

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JOHN M. KES, Esq.

LONDON:

Printed for J. Williams, near the
Museum, Fleet Street, 1853.

A

Cautionary Address.

Fellow-Citizens, Countrymen, and Friends.

TH E Period is at length come, when the Power of chusing from among yourselves, the Third Branch of the Legislature of this great Empire, is reverted to you, as it's Original : a Power, which displays the Glory of this Constitution, and raises the Envy of the Nations round you. In you are virtually contained, the Power of providing the National Supplies, in Peace, and for War ; of forming Resolutions, which occasionally affect the Councils of the most powerful Monarchs of Europe ; and of such Influence, as to operate in the most distant Parts of the Earth ; and, in a Word, of directing every
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Thing which your Representatives, in a House of Commons, should actually do for the Prosperity of this People. How incumbent then is it upon you, to keep your natural Dignity full before your Eyes, when you elect your Representatives ! and, how solemnly ought you to reflect, that you are now going to entrust, in the Hands of Guardians, the Rights and Interests, not only of yourselves, your Families, and Kindred, and, I may justly add, even your Posterity, as the Good or Evil they do may extend to future Generations : but, what ought to add greatly to the Importance of the Reflection, you bind also many Millions of your Fellow-Subjects, who are as free-born as yourselves, and are intitled to all the Rights of Britons in common with yourselves : except only, that one of choosing Representatives to Parliament : And, what a Check should it be upon your Choice, when you consider, that it is to be irremedial for the Space of Seven Years !

The Advancement of Prosperity and Happiness through all Ranks, and to every Individual of this great Community, ought to be the supreme and primary end of the Deliberations of Parliament : And doubtless there are Numbers who will not scruple to affirm, that the Nation never was
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so rich, prosperous, and happy as at present. These will tell you, that Operas are constantly supported at a great Expence; that Masquerades and Ridottos need but be published to be filled; to shew you, even how wanton the People are in their Profusion and Extravagance, do but remember the last Summer, when that joyous Word GLEE was pasted up in the Streets in red Capitals, it crouded *Ranelagh* at half a Guinea a Head; then consider the Playhouses, *Vauxhall*, *Ranelagh*, *Marybone*, *Sadler's-Wells*; and if there were twenty Places more of public Diversions, they would all be sure to be encouraged by the Public: Then, observe the State-Lotteries, which, notwithstanding the advanced Price the Tickets constantly bear before the first Day of drawing, yet even the very lowest of the People are concerned. I say nothing of any Kind of Dress, because, be it what it will, some Part of our Artisans live by it: But as to feasting, both public and private, it is questioned, whether the *Persians* of old excelled us in this Particular. Now, if all these, say they, are not Proofs of the Riches and prosperous Condition of this Nation, what are?

This is in Part a true State of the Condition of this People; and, to Men of Reflection, a melancholy one it is: For, instead of being so many Proofs of a flourishing Commonwealth, they are strong Symptoms of a Distemper in it; that is, Luxury—A Disease so dangerous to a State, that it proved fatal to several of the greatest Nations of Antiquity. They lived in as much Security as we do; and we revel in Diffipation and Luxury as much as they could. (I except the Theatres only, because, under due Regulations, they are of great Use in a well-civilized State.) As to State-Lotteries, the very Laws against excessive Gaming furnish Arguments against them: A Diffusion of the Spirit of this Vice is the Bane of Society; it relaxes and cankers Industry; and this is touching the Vitals of this Country; it corrupts Morals, and seduces Men into Variety of Methods of Injustice. Some it perswades to take the Road, as the readiest Way of Supply for the Occasion; others it draws forward towards Brankruptcy, who move upon the Principle of a *Golden Chain, or a Wooden Leg*; and they sink that Money in Blanks, which they ought to have distributed among their Creditors. To the Poor it adds Poverty, who resolutely throw their last Mite into

into that Collection of Folly; and the Vice of this Sort of Gaming is not confined among the Men; it spreads itself among the Women too. But the Game is carried on with great Serenity, because by the Influence of a Ministry it has the Sanction of a Law. This is so much the worse, that this intoxicating Spirit should be cherished by Authority. It was a Proof of public Virtue in the late Minister Mr. *Pelham*, who declared in the House of Commons, that while he had any Influence, there never should be a public Lottery; this he spoke, from a thorough Conviction that it was a Method of raising Supplies at the worst Sort of Expence, that of the Morals of the People.

But the above Representation of the State of this Community, is only a partial Exhibition: There we view the Body Politic from the Middle or Center upwards: But if we take a Prospect of that Part of this Body from its Middle downwards, we shall see an extreme of the opposite kind. These Members live, and can find the Comforts of Existence, only by Industry. But, how has this national Virtue languished and groaned under the Pressures of Want! While one Part of the People hath been revelling in Extravagance and Luxury
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in every Shape, the other hath been pining and famishing with Hunger. In several Places, the starving Cries of Wives and Children have drove the Fathers of their Families into Desperation ; their Hunger precipitated them to break through S one-walls, and to plunder their Fellow-Subjects of their Property ; which cost several of them their Lives ; some by the Hand of the Civil Power ; others, by the necessary Aid of the military Force : Sad Remedy for Convulsions in a Community ! The Distresses of the Times forced the Thousands of *Spital-fields* Weavers from their Looms ; and their Appearance about *St. James's* was so alarming, that it gave Occasion to the sending of Troops to different Parts of the Town, to prevent Riot and Confusion. The Distress was universal ; wherever the industrious Poor went to Market, they were afflicted with the *Tantalus* ; they saw Plenty before their Eyes, but could not reach it : (Whatever was the Cause, this was the Fact.) And be it remembered, that these Calamities took their Rise after the *All-healing Peace* was made : And you see to what Degree they are now abated, when a Quartern Loaf is sold at the heavy Price of Eight-pence ; and Butcher's Meat is at double the Price it bore some Yeare ago ; when there was

not a Whit more of Plenty in the Kingdom than there is at this Day.

This is the real general Condition of this Body-Politic : The upper Parts are infected with Diffipation and Luxury ; the Lower are emaciated with Poverty. But let it be observed, that the lower Parts are the *Substratum*, I may say, of the Whole ; and therefore if these perish, the others will soon fall to Destruction. It is no Objection to this Division, that there are some in Affluence of Distinction, who are good Members of the Commonwealth, and manage their Fortunes with Propriety ; and many in the middle Rank, who cherish and preserve the Spirit of Industry : These may be called the Cement of the Society, without which it would be in Danger of Dissolution.

The Distresses which the industrious Part of the Nation have suffered these three Years past, were brought upon them by the Means of an artificial Scarcity of Provisions ; for we all are Witnesses, that for many successive Years past, the Hand of Providence hath, with uninterrupted Bounty, poured upon us as great a Plenty of the Necessaries of Life, as this Land hath in any former Times been known to have received : and this unnatural

ral Evil might, by a due and timely Application and Management, have been overcome before this Time. Something, indeed, has been done towards it by the late GrandInquest the last Session of Parliament: but, ought not the National Distresses to have been as much the Objects of their Concern three Sessions ago, as this last? They were in Duty as much the Guardians of the People, and their Interests, then, as since; and the Circumstance was as importunate then, as it has been since: the Reason is evident; the Ministerial Majority had no Leisure in the Middle of a Parliament to attend to such trifling Objects, as the Calamities of the Millions of their poor Fellow-Subjects; while they lay dissolving in the Enjoyment of Places, Pensions, and Bribes; but towards the Close of a Parliament, it was necessary to make some Show of Regard towards the Public, for fear their Constituents should be too deeply convinced, that they have no Principle but that of Self-Interest, which might prove dangerous to their Success at the approaching Election.

Now, let us take a Retrospect of the State of this Nation before the Peace was concluded. First, as to that great and mighty Nation the French, our natural
 Enemies

Enemies, (but our present Political Friends) we had swept the Seas of their Fleets, and brought them into Harbour: We had seized their strong Holds in every Quarter of the Globe; possessed ourselves of their Settlements, their Sources of Trade, and Nurseries for Seamen: Her Strength as a great rival trading Kingdom was utterly destroyed, and she was brought down to the Ground: And the natural Consequence of this was, that the Trade of the *British* Empire was increased, and flourished in Proportion; and, in the Midst of War, our People throve on Spoils taken from our *French* Enemy.

This seems to prove, that if ever a War should break out between the two Nations again, as it is infinitely more than probable that it will, it would be the best Policy to establish a *perpetual War* against *France*. This is no Chimera: I do not mean to strain this Principle so high, as to say, *Delenda est Carthago*; to establish the shedding of Blood: By a perpetual War with *France*, I mean, that there should be no more Intercourse by Ministers between the two Courts, than there is between *Britain* and *Rome*; that the *French* be not suffered to have a Ship of War at Sea, nor to carry on their Trade through the Paths of

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the Ocean ; but that we seek no actual Hostilities elsewhere, till they become Aggressors. The Perfidy of the *French* seems to warrant the adopting of this Principle into the System of *British* Policy ; because it is a Quality innate in them, that as soon as they grow warm by a recovered Trade, they will, like the Serpent in the Fable, certainly attempt to sting us to Death, who gave them up the Means of that Warmth. This would be extremely practicable ; and might be established without an additional Shilling to the annual Supplies, upon the Foot of the true national Policy, which, within these thirty Years, has often been recommended from the Throne, and as often admitted by Parliament ; that is, the keeping of a strong Fleet constantly in Commission, even in Times of the profoundest Peace ; which is without Question the most meritorious Way of expending the public Money ; as the Whole of it is circumscribed within the Kingdom. But this by the Way.

Let us, secondly, remember the State of this Kingdom just before the Conclusion of the Peace, with relation to our Advantages gained over *Spain*. The Conquest of the *Havannah*, and the Island of *Cuba*, was, in a very proper Sense, the Conquest of
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Mexico and *Peru*, and of the *Spanish West-Indies*; and this was such an Acquisition, as whether we consider it with regard to the mortal Stab which might have been given to the Enemy, or the immense Advantages of which we might have been availed, by holding the Possession of it, *Britain* never gained by War, since she was a Nation. As to the Enemy, the very keeping of it would have impoverished and humbled the haughty Crest of the *Spaniard*, by preventing the vast Treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico* from being transported to *Spain*; and would at the same Time have affected the active and industrious *French*, who doubtless draw vast Advantages from those Treasures. And with reference to ourselves, there is no Risque of uttering a Falsehood, in saying, that the unparalleled Acquisition of the *Havannah* might have more than produced an Indemnity for the Expences of the last War, which amounted to sixty Millions: of which more anon. Upon the Reduction of the *Havannah*, the Writers on the Side of the then Minister were set to prove, with all their Might, the dangerous Condition of Riches to a Commonwealth; and that this Kingdom in particular was in imminent Danger of Destruction, by getting Possession of the Wealth of *Spain*. And with a deal of

such like modest and sensible Reasoning, they proved, by necessary Inference, that meagre Looks and pining Poverty would be the most salutary Condition of the lower Part of this great People. But they were employed to level Mountains, and to make the Way smooth and pleasant for the Peace. I must confess, that I was induced to imagine, that the Writers received double Pay; one, from the Favourite, for defending his Measures; the other, from the Enemy, for strenuously urging their Interests in Preference to those of this Country.

This was the State of this triumphant Isle, at that Period when a Peace was concluded: when *Great-Britain* was raised to a Pitch of Glory, unknown to former Ages: when our young auspicious Sovereign on his Throne, seemed like an universal Monarch; his Fleets and Troops carrying Victory to every Quarter of the Globe. Reflect, what must the Strength of this People be, when two of the greatest Potentates in *Europe*, combined against us by a Family Compact, were, by the *British* Arms, brought down to the Dust.

The principal Argument for making the Peace was the excessive Burden of the national Debt; and the chief Reason alledged for

for the precipitating of it was, that the distressed Condition of the Nation could not support the War another Year. That the national Debt was extremely accumulated by Means of the War, was very true; and that an advantageous and honourable Peace was always very desirable, was as true: But that we could not maintain the War for another Year, was in no Sense either true or probable. First, let it be remembered, that the annual Supplies at home kept chearful Pace each Year with the Successes of our brave Countrymen abroad; nor did the Year next preceding the Peace produce a Murmur on that Account: Is this a probable Reason of such public Distress, as rendered it impossible to carry on the War one Year longer? On the contrary, those Appearances afforded the highest Probability, that the People were not only willing, but able to maintain the War longer.

But I shall pass from Probability, and desire to submit it to you, whether, upon the following Considerations, it may not with good Reason be affirmed for a Truth, that we could have supported the War; and that not only one or two Years longer, but from that Time to this. I think it will be admitted, that as in the Progress of

the War we gradually reduced the *French* trading Settlements, and ruined their Trade; our national Commerce received a gradual Increase in some Degree of Proportion to their Loss; and towards the End of their Trade being extinguished, that of our People was proportionally increased; because as the foreign Markets must constantly be supplied with the accustomed Merchandizes, the Trade of the Enemy being suppressed, that of *Great-Britain* consequently engrossed them with unrivalled Success. Therefore, these very Effects of the War would have contributed to the Support of it more and more; for our Enemies were disabled, and the whole combined Force of *France* and *Spain* was not able to recover a single Acquisition out of our Hands. The War, with reference to their Islands and their Trade, was become a mere State of the War; they had no Power left to act. As to *Germany*, the only remaining Seat of their Action, our able *Brunswick* General was an over Match for them on every Occasion.

But let us go further, and consider the immense Advantages we might have reaped by our Acquisitions, and then we shall see how the Continuance of the War would have operated on our national Affairs at home. I conceive it is admitted on all Hands,

Hands, the retaining the *French* Islands, and the utter Expulsion of the *French* from the Fishing Trade, would in Time have indemnified us for the Change of the War. And it is on the other Hand most indubitably true, that by retaining the *Havannah*, and the *Spanish West Indies* (which were absolutely in our Power) they would have produced an ample Indemnity for the Expence of the War. Now, as a War entered into with Justice, gives the Conqueror a perfect Right to his Conquest, every Acquisition which we made from *France* and *Spain*, might, with all Justice and Reason, have been retained : And if a Resolution had been taken to retain them all, and turn them to the best Account, the Acquisitions from either Power at War having been singly sufficient to produce an Indemnity for the Charges of the War, what an Inundation of Wealth would the Whole have poured in upon this Kingdom ! We should not only have gained an Indemnity ; but also ample Funds might have been established to lighten that Burden under which the Nation groans, and to clear off so much of the Public Debt as would be consistent with Policy ; and the Necessaries of Life might easily have been disencumbered of those Taxes, which wring the briny Sweat from the industrious Poor.

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As to the Resources of the Enemy for continuing the War, it seemed to require no great Depth of Penetration, to find out what their Condition was at the Time of making the Peace. The *Spaniard*, it is clear, could not long have held out, because we had utterly stopt the Flux of his Supplies: the *French* had their inland Trade; but what was that towards supporting an expensive and consuming War? The scandalous Snare the *French* Ministry laid to recruit their Finances, by over-reaching the Subjects of other Nations besides their own, was a Sign that they were put to their Shifts to support the War; that was their Scheme of proposing excessive Interest, which drew in *Dutch* Fools, and several of our *English* Traitors, as they were, for furnishing the Enemy with Money; and upon the Conclusion of the Peace, the *French* made the Matter very easy to themselves, by reducing the Principal to one Half. Another Sign of the low Ebb of the *French* Cash and Credit, was the well-known sending of the *French* King's Plate to be coined at the Mint; which Example was zealously followed by many of his Nobles, for the Glory of their Prince. This Transaction made a Wag say, that the King's Plate being melted, his Court were glad to use Wooden Spoons when the
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Soup was served up. The *French* Government had squeezed the Clergy as far as they could with Safety. In Popish Countries Governments are cautious of this Sort of Freedom with their Clergy. In a Word, it is a Question whether the *French* ever were known to propose a Peace, when they were able to carry on a War.

But if, in the triumphant State this Nation was in, a Peace was to be resolved on; the Interest of the Public obviously suggested these Particulars to be provided for:

1. An Indemnity for the Expences of the War.
2. The Prosperity and Increase of our Trade and Commerce: And the Destruction of that of the Enemy.
3. The Prevention of the Naval Power of *France*.

An Indemnity for the Expences of the War would, it seems, have wiped off Sixty Millions from the National Debt. It was absolutely in our Power to have formed such a Plan for the attaining of this, in such a Manner as we judged most proper: And the Havannah ought indispensably to have been retained, as the most adequate
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Security, till the full Accomplishment of this Indemnity.

The Means of promoting the Prosperity and Increase of our Trade would have involved in it the Ruin of that of our Enemy: That is, the Retention of every Acquisition which was a Source of Trade; and would also, consequently, have greatly prevented the Recovery of the Naval Power of France; this being impossible without Nurseries for Seamen.

These ought to have been the great and primary Objects of a Peace, not to have been receded from; besides several others now unnecessary to mention. A Peace thus founded would have lightened every public Burden; removed every public Evil; no Murmurings would have been heard, and no Complaining in our Streets. It would have raised Great Britain to such a Degree of Importance, that our King would have been the Envy of Monarchs, and his People the Envy of the Nations; who would have treated us with Respect, and courted our Friendship.

If the Glory of his Prince and the Happiness of the People had been the real Objects of the Favourite's aspiring Ambition, when

when he was raised to the Helm, so fair an Occasion was even presented to his Hand, that he might have been the leading Instrument of establishing such a Peace, as would have rendered the odious Name of Favourite amiable; as would have made him the Favourite of the present Generation, and have aggrandized his Fame to Posterity.

But, my Countrymen and Friends, you remember, and the Time is now come when you should remember, that, in the Midst of our amazing Advantages and towering Hopes, a Peace was made that dashed them all: A Peace, which has fixed upon us the prodigious National Debt, and will entail it upon our Posterity: Which restored to our Enemies incomparably the very best of our Acquisitions, which, as before said, might, with infinite Ease, have indemnified the Charges of the War: a Peace which presented them with trading Islands, Fisheries, and Nurseries for Seamen; and thus have enabled them to grow rich by a Recovery of their lost Trade, and to repair and restore their Naval Force, and so to fall upon us again, whenever they shall think they can do it with Advantage.

Now is your Time to remember, that the Majority of the late House of Commons sanctified that Peace with their Address. You, whom they represented, well know, that they did not express the Sense of the Nation, nor of the Majority of the People, upon that Measure: They prostituted their Trust to the corrupt Influence of the Favourite. We all know, that a Majority of a House of Commons has been obtained, more than once, against the Sense of the Nation: One Instance was, of Sir Richard Steele, the famous Asserter of the British Constitution, who was expelled that House for his Crisis, in Defence of the Succession to the Crown in the Family of his present Majesty; which is the best Security of all our Rights, religious and civil. Here was a flaming Instance of the Power of an evil Minister, to influence a corrupt Majority of a House of Commons.—The national Abhorrence of the Peace was evident. By his Fascinations, the Favourite did indeed gain two or three Lords Lieutenants to influence their Counties to address, and two or three Boroughs, by Means of their Representatives. But the City of London, who are above the Reach of Temptations to Corruption, and have upon every Occasion nobly defeated the Attempts of Ministerial Tools, could not

not be induced to give their Sanction to a Peace, which they well knew was a Sacrifice of the Interests of the *British* Empire to our Enemies, in a most unparalleled Degree: Therefore their Conduct may always be properly said to express the Sense of the People. And it was so much the universal Sense of these Kingdoms, that no one City or Town, of any Note, either in England or Ireland, transmitted any Address upon the Peace.

Consider, what must have been the Motives which swayed the late Majority to give a Stab even to their own Liberties, in expelling one of their own Members, Mr. *Wilkes* (to whom we are every Individual of us obliged, for our Security from the Inquisitorial Tyranny of General Warrants) in him they sacrificed their Privileges, to gratify the Malice and Resentment of the Favourite, for exposing to the Public his pernicious Machinations (for that was the Truth of the Matter at the Bottom, because it is demonstrative, that he had no real Veneration for the Glory of his Sovereign, by giving up to the Enemy the immense Interests of his Subjects.) This Majority could take but one Step further; which was, to vote away your and the whole Nation's Rights, and to consign us all to Slavery.

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• If Injuries to the Public had not been involved in the Favourite's Schemes, it would be very diverting, to reflect upon the Success of his Operations upon the patriotic Opposition. When he found they associated, and published their Opposition by feasting together, he prepared his high-seasoned Baits of Bribery; and you may imagine them thrown down among the assembled Patriots, and that each scrambled and carried off what he could for himself: And thus he subdued the famous patriotic Opposition; and, by Degrees, incorporated many of them into his Majority.

There is not a stronger Proof of the Spirit and Principles of this Majority, than their Treatment of the Bill lately brought into Parliament, by a Gentleman who deserves to be enrolled in the first Rank of the Patriots of his Country; because, after a long Series of Years spent in the untainted Service of his Country, he brought in this Bill for the suppressing of a Vice which at this Day is risen to such a Pitch as threatens us with impending Ruin; that is, Bribery. Venality is of a Nature so odious, and so dangerous, in this free Country, that the most profligate Dealer in it will not dare openly to avow, that it shall be his Medium to gain him a Seat in Parliament: And there

there is no Man who is an Enemy to that detestable Practice, but would assent to whatever can be proposed for the Suppression of it. What then are we to think of this Majority, who frustrated the Design, and caused the Bill to miscarry? They were the Favourite's Majority from 1762 to 1768; and no Man living can doubt, but that they who aided to defeat that Bill, place their main Hopes of making their Way into Parliament again upon the Principle of Venality.

Now, my Fellow-Citizens, Countrymen, and Friends, you are reminded of the present dangerous Condition of this abused People: That in the Year 1762, a Favourite blazed forth like a Comet, portending Evil to these Nations: That when their Country might have become the Wonder of the World, for Trade, Riches, and Strength, he influenced a Peace; in which a Majority of the last Representatives you chose supported him; and by that Means left an additional Weight of Sixty Millions to the public Debt, for you and your Posterity to make the most of: And, to heighten their Merit, they assisted him to lay new Taxes, as a further Blessing of the Peace: That, instead of consulting your real Interests, which it was in
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Conscience their Duty to have done, as faithful Trustees and Guardians; they followed him in all his Schemes from that Time to the Day when their Trust expired: That, for two Years, they disregarded the Distresses, Murmurs, and Groans of the industrious Poor; several of whom ran to Death, rather than see their helpless Wives and Children perish by Famine; when the public Distresses should have induced them to establish a Grand Committee for Provisions, as well as those for Trade, Privileges, &c. and to have sat constantly, till they had rooted the Causes of that crying Calamity, which Providence did not inflict: And that, as the last, and not the least, Testimony of their Attachment to their Idol the Favourite, they triumphantly defeated the Bill which was calculated to suppress that Bane of Freedom, the pernicious Trade of Bribery. And to this let me add one Observation, that if that same late Majority were to support the Favourite in all his Measures for seven Years longer, it needs no Spirit of Divination to foresee, that this great and powerful Kingdom would very hardly escape Ruin.

Now, my Fellow-Subjects, permit me to mention to you with the Tone of a Caution;—a Caution to which, for the Sake
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of yourselves, your dear Families, and even your Posterity; and in Humanity to the Millions of your free-born Fellow-Subjects, who by this Constitution must depend upon your Choice, it behoves you to attend; that the Salvation and Recovery of this Country from the Evils of Venality and Corruption, with which it is most miserably over-run, depend upon your Conduct in Election: Remember your great, your fundamental Importance; that you are going to elect a Body of Men, who, when assembled in virtue of your Election, will be the most powerful Body of Men upon Earth; the House of Commons of *Great-Britain*: Remember, that you are going to put yourselves and all your Rights in the Hands of Guardians, and will be tied down to abide by their Conduct for seven Years: That as Men of Virtue will advance the Prosperity of the Commonwealth; so if they be Sons of Venality, they may effect its Ruin. And remember your Dignity, when designing great Men take you by the Hand for your Interest; and act accordingly.

The Vice which, out of all question, is the most dangerous to the Freedom of this Nation, is that of Bribery. And it is too evident, that this Infection never was at such Height in it as at present. From

1762 to this Time, Places, Pensions, and other Bribes, have made a considerable Branch of the inland Trade of this Country. The extensive Dealings of the Favourite have made this Sort of Traffic so familiar, that an eminent City lately wrote to their Representatives upon this Subject, with the same Ease as upon any other Article of Commerce. The common News-Papers are made the Mediums to bring on Agreements for Seats in Parliament; and Stock-Brokers are now become Borough-Brokers. Venality practised between a Minister and a Representative is an alarming Circumstance; but when Constituents sell their Voices, the Case is bad indeed. The Elector can change his Representative; but the Constituent is the Original; from him there is no Appeal.

The very Idea of Bribery implies an injurious design: it is in it's Nature so pernicious and detestable, that in a Court of Law it invalidates and destroys the Credit of an Evidence, and subjects him to severe Punishment from the Court. If then he be deemed a Criminal of a black Dye, who takes a Bribe against a single Party, what Mark of Infamy does he deserve, who takes a Bribe against his Country?

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When Bargain and Sale are the professed Terms of an Election, and the Candidate pays a Sum of Money, and the Electors receive it; it is not to be imagined, nor have they a Right to suppose, but that he who bought them, made his Purchase with a Design to be no loser by the Bargain, but make his Market of them to the best Advantage. These ought to consider, that at the same time when they sell themselves, they, to the utmost of their Power, sell their Country; because every corrupt Act of their Representative not only affects them, but extends itself to the whole collective Body of the People: and therefore all the Evils which follow from the Choice of such Representatives as these, are ultimately chargeable upon their Electors, who are justly to be stigmatized as Betrayers of their Fellow-Electors; and Traytors to, and Parricides of their Country.

Remember, Gentlemen, that you are the Basis of this great Nation; and that the critical Moment is approaching, when the Virtue or Iniquity of your Conduct will certainly go a great Way towards the Fate of your Country. If Venality and Bribery should be too hard for Fidelity and Integrity, the next seven long Years will furnish out such Annals for Posterity, as I

tremble to think of. Quit yourselves, therefore, like Men, and shew your Veneration for public Virtue; do Justice to yourselves, and the rest of this great People; they are painfully anxious for the Issue: frown upon, and oppose the Advances of that Viper Corruption, and repel it with Indignation. And thus you will chuse a great Council of the Nation, whose Principles of Honour and Patriotism will be strengthened by their Reflection upon your Motives of Choice; who will make the true Interests of their Country the primary Scope of all their Deliberations; and will raise the Glory and Happiness of our amiable Sovereign, by retrieving it from it's present dangerous Condition, into a flourishing and happy State.

The Rank of a Member of the House of Commons of *Great-Britain* is of so great Importance, Dignity, and Honour, that it not only qualifies a Man for Conference with the Peerage, but even the other Day one of the greatest present Monarchs of the Earth personally wrote to a Member of that House: but he can no more expect to stand upon that Level, because the Great Commoner is dwindled into a Peer. In that House are constantly several great Officers of State; and sometimes the
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Person called the Prime Minister is a Member of that Body. These are just Insinuations to you of your own Importance; and suggest to you, under what Cautions you ought to act, when you exalt a Man to a Seat in the House of Commons.

Now, let us consider your Power of Election in a negative Way; that is, who they are, who ought not to be elected: And, from what has been said, there is infinite Reason, if you do Justice to your Country, to reject every Man who concurred to sanctify the Giving-away the amazing and never to be recovered Advantages we were possessed of; every man who aided to defeat the Bill against Bribery; and, in general, every Man whatever, who has acted under the Banner of the Favourite. But, as all general Rules admit of some Exceptions, those who have renounced his Colours, and testified their Repentance by Instances of honest Opposition, may, perhaps, with Safety be re-elected Guardians, and re-invested with their Honour: but these are very few,

There is another Sort of Men, who conceive they have the best Pretensions to gain your Interest; that is, because they are very rich by the late War: But the very
Reason

Reason which they urge, concludes against them; for, whether it was under the Name of Commissary, Paymaster, Contractor, or any other Public Denomination; whoever went Abroad poor, and returned Home laden with the Spoils of his Country, in a Degree which he could never have gained by his Employment, is the Servant of Corruption, and therefore utterly unfit for your Election; particularly because this profligate Principle would be infinitely more dangerous in a *House of Commons*, than it could be Abroad.

The Characters of Men will come into your Knowledge at Times of Election, and you will be informed how such a Man and such a Man were raised perhaps from low Clerks, to this and that Rank or Eminence in Office. Now if you find that the Person proposed was advanced by a great Man for administering to his Pleasures, and providing Accommodations for him in the Capacity of a Pimp; you will hardly think that a Pimp should be qualified to take his Seat in the *House*, perhaps upon the *Treasury-bench*, at the Elbow of a *First Lord of the Treasury*, or a *Secretary of State*. A Jack-all to a Favourite, is properly called a political Pimp: The Difference is, that the

the other serves his Patron towards corrupting an Individual ; this acts for his, in public Debauchery. It reflects a Disgrace upon Constituents, to raise such Persons to such Dignity.

There is a Flaw in the Constitution, which produces great Inconvenience in this Respect ; through this Chasm, a Minister has it in his Power to introduce such Tools into the House of Commons, by sending Orders to such little Corporations, as mostly consist of petty Officers under Government, to elect them ; which they must do, on Pain of losing their Bread.

Now, Gentlemen, with Regard to the proper Objects of your Election : The first Class of Men, upon whom your Gratitude ought to turn your Eyes, are undoubtedly those approved Patriots who opposed the late pernicious Peace ; who have to the End of the Parliament persevered firm against the ensnaring Allurements of the Favourite, and untainted by his Poison ; who have on every Occasion opposed the Measures taken against the Interest of their Country ; and who exerted their last Endeavours (though ineffectually) in Support of that meritorious Bill, which was calculated towards the rooting out of that Vice,

Vice, which at this present Time threatens Perdition to the Freedom of this Constitution.

The remaining Part of your Representatives in this Great Council of the Nation, whose patriotic Principles have not yet been proved by their Conduct in Parliament, should be elected out of the ancient Families of the Gentry of this Land : Men who, together with their ample landed Property, ought indispensably to be adorned with an established Reputation of Benevolence in their several Neighbourhoods and Counties ; because they who delight to do Good among Men in their private Capacities, give the fairest Hopes of being fixed in the Interests of the Community. And among these, Men of the best Abilities, with the most liberal Education, have the first Claim to your Preference ; as they are best able to protect or promote your important Interests in Parliament. And when your future Representatives present themselves before you on the Hustings at the Day of Election, you will be wanting in Justice to yourselves and the whole Kingdom, if you do not respectively bind them in the most essential and effectual Manner, to take the first Opportunity to procure an Inquiry to be made
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in Parliament, into the Causes of our present National Evils and Misfortunes, and use their utmost Endeavours to have them redressed; and the Authors, let them be who they will, brought to Justice.

As the Election of proper Representatives in Parliament in Order to the Interests of the Community is the professed Subject of these Papers; and as a proper Intercourse of each British Settlement with the Mother Country is a National Concern; it is not Foreign to the Design, to take Notice, that the Town having for some Time past, been entertained with the Bostonian Subject, several malicious and false Reflections have, as usual on such Occasions, been thrown out to prejudice the Electors against a Gentleman of the fairest Character, who now offers himself as a Candidate to represent this Capital in Parliament. The very Arguments made Use of against him, if duly considered, will among rational Men recommend him strongly to the Favour of the Constituents: By his Knowledge in Trade, and his large and extensive Commerce, he is eminent among the most valuable Body of Men in this Commonwealth, the Merchants; and by his Connections with Boston, he may be serviceable to this Nation; because it is of

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great Consequence to have such a Person in some Authority, whose Importance may conduce to influence that People to a proper Conduct, with Regard to the Mother-Country.

Gentlemen of the LIVERY of the City of
LONDON.

PERMIT me to address myself to you in particular. Your Importance is so great, that the Eyes of *Europe* may be laid to be upon you, in this great Day of Struggle for the Preservation of your Freedom and Liberties: And your Example will influence the Counties, Cities and Boroughs of this Kingdom, in their Choice of Persons to represent them in Parliament. Probity makes a Man a worthy Member of Society; and every Man living ought to have it: But Probity alone is not sufficient to recommend a Candidate to be elected into Parliament. If you should chuse weak Persons, destitute of Abilities and Learning, who can only say, AYE and NO; it would be like sending forth Soldiers for your Defence, without Arms or Ammunition. But permit me to remind you, that Men of the first Talents would be the most adequate and proper Representatives of this Capital; because it is the first and greatest City

City of one of the greatest Nations of the Earth. By devolving your Trusts into such Hands, they would defend and fortify your Rights, promote your Interests, and baffle and expose the sophistical Efforts of ministerial Instruments : They would, like wise Generals, place a strong Guard upon every Avenue.

I am led into these Considerations concerning you, Gentlemen, in particular, upon having received a Paper handed about, since the first of these Sheets were sent to the Press, being an Address to you by a Gentleman offering himself to be one of your Representatives in Parliament. Gratitude will warm the Heart of every true Lover of Liberty among you ; nor can any of the loyal Livery of *London* refuse his Suffrage, without being suspected of Treachery to his King and Country ; since no Man has proved a more steady Friend, or shewn more Zeal and Attachment to both, than that Gentleman. And I must add, that happy, thrice happy would it be for this Nation, if a WILKES could be found in every County, City, and Borough in this Kingdom, to represent them in Parliament. He has the Advantage of a Degree of Merit to his Country, equal to that of any Man living ; and, perhaps, superior,

rior, if the Consideration, that the Liberty of the Subject receive Strength thro' his Sufferings, can add to it. He has, as it were, passed through the Fire for your Defence; and, like pure Gold, can bear the Touch. He offers you the greatest Security for his future Conduct; a Contract sealed with Blood and Banishment.

Brave and generous Citizens, what can you have more? His patriotic Virtues can never be forgot, or remain neglected by his Countrymen, without exposing them to the Contempt of all the other Nations of Europe.

Upon the whole, if in your Elections the Love of your Country animates your Conduct, the Result will be great and glorious; you will find a virtuous and patriotic House of Commons; who will soon set about, and accomplish a Restitution of Things. But if that cursed Spirit, that Belial VENALITY should prevail, the Prospect of the Consequences is so terrible to the Imagination, that I shall only add, may Heaven in his infinite Mercy avert them.

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